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Theoretically, residence is pat-
591 rilocal, yet there are several instances in which it is matrilocal. Theoretically too, the brothers of the family form the powerful or secure in-group and live around a common dance place as a lineage complex. Actually, brothers who cannot get along amicably will scatter. For example, Manifani of Dikimpe, as the eldest brother, lived on his lineage dance place in New Dikimpe; the second brother lived on the dance place of Old Dikimpe; the third had moved to the offspring hamlet of Dikimpe called Maiyamasang; and their two half brothers, by the same father but a different mother, lived at opposite ends of their mother's village of Atimelang. This example is not important in itself, but it does illustrate nicely the flexibility of residence that exists in practice. It can of course be balanced by several instances in which brothers follow the traditional pattern. Expediency and interpersonal relationships outweigh theory and dictate arrangements.

428 Expediency and the industry of the child also determine the inheritance of land; a child is usually given a garden plot as soon as he is old enough to work productively. Both men and women own fields inherited from their fathers or mothers.

262 Dry rice is in all probability the oldest staple of the area, but at present maize has replaced it as the daily food and rice is reserved largely for feasts. There is a local belief that "rice makes you fat and corn
[327] makes you strong." A fat body is the criterion of health. In addition to rice and corn there is a large range of other foods, including millet, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, taro, and a wide variety of tubers. Fruits include oranges, mangoes, papayas, breadfruit, jack fruit, and many kinds of bananas.

462 Theoretically, women are responsible for the cultivation and collec-
[422] tion of all vegetable foods, and theory is reinforced by giving them ownership of all plant produce, regardless of the land and labor men may have invested in its production. Men, on the other hand, control
436 the financial system and the three currencies through which it operates — pigs, gongs, and metal kettledrums called mokos. Arrows too are used for money but only as small change. The monetary value of pigs
● 435 is highly inflated in relation to their consumption value. Their flesh is
262 rarely eaten except at feasts, in order that their value may be added to the interminable and complex monetary accounting that is basic to ceremonial procedure. In fact, should a pig be killed accidentally, a ceremonial feast of one sort or another is improvised to justify its consumption.

436 Of the three currencies, mokos are undoubtedly the coin of the realm. They range through unequal steps from the value of one rupiah

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place, the wielder of the pole begins switching the bundle rapidly back and forth as he circles the dance place six times. He is surrounded by the buyers, who try to beat the head bundle as it flicks back and forth. At the end of the sixth round the buyers seize the pole and bundle, rush to the village edge, and toss the bundle off into the bush, where no further attention is paid to it. Now the dead kinsman has a "spouse" (i.e., the fellow victim) and will not return to make trouble for his living kin. The thrashing given the head bundle is supposed to kill the spirit of the spouse so that it too will no longer be a menace.

The final ceremonial gesture is the mock feeding of the buyers. They stand in a row on their dance place and a piece of rice cone is offered them. They pretend to take a bite, but actually the rice is rapidly passed over their shoulders to children standing behind each buyer, who run off and eat it secretly. This appeases the dead kinsman. The same procedure is repeated by the sellers on the village boundary. This appeases the spouse of the dead kin.

It is consistent with the picture drawn so far of food and finance that the malignancy even of souls cannot be fully appeased until gestures of this sort are made. The cost of such appeasement must act to curtail excessive head-hunting. The financial costliness of placating the dead is true also for the ordinary death feasts and for the spirit-bird ceremonies that replace the death feast series in cases of violent deaths. This latter type of ceremony parallels in form that just described for a human head. There are three or four species of small birds which, when killed and dried, may be sold as spouses for those dead from accident or from dysentery, leprosy, or smallpox. It is important in terms of local values that even though a man has caught a spirit bird he may not use it to appease his own dead kin, but must buy one from some other set of six captors.

An instance of nice adjustment occurred when the Dutch put an end to head-hunting. Spirit-bird ceremonies were substituted for head ceremonies where vengeance had not yet been secured, so that the soul of the murdered man could be appeased. The Alorese were caught by cultural changes between the fear of their dead kin and the living Dutch. Fortunately they had at hand a ceremonial device they could, and were willing to, substitute in order to avoid this dilemma. If this device had not been available it is possible that the natives would have feared their dead more than the Dutch garrison and that head-hunting would not have ended so quickly and easily. As it was, the solution was probably as much of a relief to the natives as it was to the government.

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159 little house. I said the animals would pull it down. [Stop.] Then I ran to Old Atimelang. I was sick there. Good Beings let down a ladder from the sky, and I went up. I turned to look down and saw the sea below me. I cried, "Adiye! Mother, father, tell me what to do. People have hung me in mid-air." [Stop.] I looked to the west and there was a large forest; I looked to the south and there was only sand. In the forest I saw no people. [Stop.] I called and called, but no one answered. I called until I woke myself up and found myself sleeping on the mat. [Stop.] The others were not awakened by my calling and so did not wake me [as they normally do if a person talks in his sleep].

[35] [Do the three carabaos denote ostentation, since they represent great wealth here and are the acme in feast giving? This part of the dream was followed by Kolmani's rising in the air, like a Good Being, which implies power. Good Beings go to their villages in this fashion. Note the development of anxiety as this power dream went on, and the way Kolmani called to her parents for help. The terms *mother* and *father* are formal usage. Kolmani actually never knew her real parents; her aunts and uncles were surrogates.]

Now I want to finish yesterday's story. After I had borne the child who is now dead, we went to stay with Maikalieta. When I was still at Atibaimanek, my uncle told me that when a man spoke to me in a certain way, I was to run away and not live with him. My uncle said, "In a case like that, do your own work and just remember your fields; do not live with him." Then Langmai did speak to me in that fashion. He said, "You just sit and take care of that child; you don't go to the fields to fetch tubers and food. Perhaps you are full. If you get hungry, just eat your child, and then you will be full again." So I ran away, and he went away too. For three years I did not feed him. [Stop.] He had made a house in which I lived. His elder brother, Manimai, died. Langmai ran away from me and stayed with Kolpada [the widow of his elder brother]. A hungry time came and I was very sick, so that even my hair fell out and you could see my scalp. Langmai didn't look at me. He would go off to collect greens and wood to give to Kolpada's parents and not to me. [Stop.] He stayed with her until food was plentiful again before he came back to me. I said, "Your elder brother is dead and you can marry Kolpada." But he didn't want to. "Where will I get the mokos?" he said. I said, "Your elder brother has disappeared and his wife remains. It is not good for her to marry anyone else." [She
[36] overtly followed the cultural pattern of not being jealous of a levirate wife, and yet from what preceded, it was obvious that she was.]